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A REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS AND DECISIONS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF NEGRO WORKERS



AT HAMBURG GERMANY / JULY 1930

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COMMITTEE OF NEGRO WORKERS
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Report of Proceedings and Decisions of the First International
Conference of Negro Workers

Provisional Executive Committee

responsible for Convening the Conference

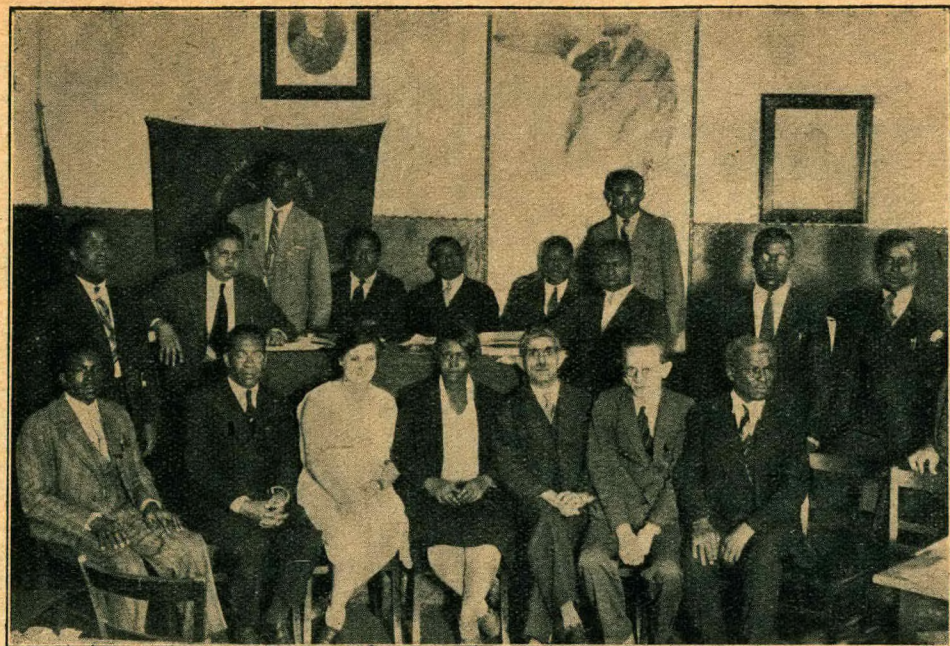
James W. Ford, Chairman, National Committee of the Trade Union Unity League, U.S.A.
Lucas Prentice, Furriers' Union, New York, U.S.A.
Isaac Munsey, National Miners' Union, Pittsburgh, U.S.A.
Otto Hall, Negro Department of the Trade Union Unity League, U.S.A.
Mary Burroughs, Teachers' Union, New York, U.S.A.
W. Thibedi, South African Federation of Non-European Trade Unions
Johnstone Kenyatta, Central Association of Kenya, East Africa
George Padmore, Negro T.U. Committee of the R.I.L.U.
Henry Rosemond, Haitian Patriotic Union, Haiti
M. Ali, Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire, France
M. E. Burns, Transport Workers' Union, England

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Group of Delegates in attendance at the First International Conference
of Negro Workers – Hamburg, Germany, July 7, 8, 1930

PART I

ELECTION OF PRESIDUM AND GREETINGS

Presidium:

J. W. Ford, United States of America
Frank Macaulay, Nigeria, West Africa
E. Richards, Sierra Leone, West Africa
E. F. Small, Gambia, West Africa
M. De Leon, Jamaica, West Indies.

Honorary members:

(Imprisoned or waiting conviction for activities connected with struggles
of Negro Toilers)

Harry Thuku, Kenya, East Africa
Albert Nzulu, South Africa
E. Story, Atlanta, Ga., USA
Herbert Newton, Atlanta, Ga., USA

Agenda:

- 1 Report of the International Committee of Negro Workers**
— Chairman
- 2 Economic Struggles and Tasks of the Negro Workers**
— George Padmore
- 3 The Struggle against Forced Labour and Poll Tax**
— William Wilson
- 4 The War Danger and its Significance to the Negro Masses**
— Frank Macaulay
- 5 Resolutions**
- 6 Elections.**

Greetings:

Telegram: July 7, 1930

"International Sports Opposition Worker Athletes' meeting at Dresden, Germany, sends proletarian greetings to the First International Conference of Negro Workers, urging it to fulfill historic task of uniting oppressed Negro millions all over the world against imperialism."

Signed: "International Red Sports."

Telegram: July 8, 1930

„Proletarian Congress (Manila) greets Negro Worker's Conference, wishing success which strengthens united front of oppressed masses in

their fight for national class liberation. Fight imperialist War! Defend the Soviet Union and colonial freedom!"

Signed: "Evangelista, General Secretary,
Manila, Philippine Islands."

Red International of Labour Unions (R. I. L. U.)

July 1, 1930.

The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers of the Red International of Labour Unions sends heartiest, revolutionary greetings to the First International Conference of Negro Workers.

Your Conference is destined to organise the Negro workers who form the vanguard of the broad toiling masses of the Negro peoples who are raising the standard of struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

The capitalist world is plainly breaking up. The experience of the working class of the USSR shows that only the destruction of private property right over the soil, the means of production and distribution, only the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, and the formation of a worker-peasant government will secure real brotherhood and social equality for the toilers of all races and nations.

Shoulder to shoulder in the bonds of brotherhood that link the working masses, black, yellow, and white in their fight against the capitalist and their reformist agents, we will destroy the system of oppression, exploitation, and lack of right for the workers, and build up the Socialist Society which alone will bring the Negro toilers complete national and social emancipation.

Away with the imperialists and their agents in our workers' midst!

Down with racial antagonism and the colour bar!

Up the United Front of the workers and the oppressed masses!

Forward, the revolutionary labour movement, friend and ally of the oppressed races and nations!

RILU International Negro Workers' TU Committee.

Letter:

June 25, 1930.

Japanese Section of League Against Imperialism.

To the esteemed comrades meeting for the first world congress of Negro workers: —

"We, the Japanese section of the League Against Imperialism send sincere and hearty greetings of international solidarity to the Negro workers and peasants, who fight against the oppression and exploitation of the imperialists.

"Comrades.

"All the imperialists' strength is being used in the preparation of a new imperialist war, whose victims will be the workers of the whole world and that strength will be directed at the U. S. S. R. The last peace conference held in London was only to re-shape the war provisions and also to discuss the most modern warfare knowledge, and although an attempt was made to impress the whole world of the anti-war nature of the meeting, we were not deceived.

"Comrades,

"The Imperialists divide and rule. The Japanese imperialists by their strength use the workers and peasants against the colonials and forces racial feelings, with the result, instead of unity, we find hatred.

"Cruel white terror often destroys revolutionary organizations, but nevertheless, long continued strikes and peasant risings very often occur, and the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement develops with active rapidity.

"The Japanese workers and peasants fight as your brothers and sisters in the East, whilst strengthening the unity between colonial and semi-colonial people in Korea, Formosa and China.

"Comrades,

"We see the Negro workers in Africa heroically fighting; the independent movement in India develops and these give new life to the Chinese workers to go forward and try again to overthrow their oppressors.

"The first world conference of Negro workers strengthens and hastens the time when the revolutionary movement of the oppressed, pushes itself forward to the final conquest of the world revolution. From the East, we strongly shake hands with our Negro workers and wish you the best of luck."

Signed: "Japanese Section of League Against Imperialism.

K. Tsuboi, sec."

PART II

REPORT OF CHAIRMAN

Report of Comrade Ford

"Comrades:

We are meeting at a time of acute crisis of capitalism that has reached throughout the world most seriously affecting colonial lands. We have before us very big tasks. We must face the serious business of getting down to the problems that face the Negro workers and the Negro race under capitalist exploitation and oppression in the various parts of world. We are gathered here at this conference for that purpose. This conference must make a broad political demonstration and broad cast to the widest possible masses of Negro toilers the results of our discussions. We must take up organizational questions relating to the economic situation and working conditions of the Negro workers — industrial and agricultural workers; we must discuss lynching, terrorism, police and soldier massacres, pass-laws and restrictions, racial discriminations, forced labour, the coming imperialist war and a number of other questions and problems. We will of course have to reach some decisions, but these decisions should not, because of the provisional character of our coming together and because of the fact that this conference is not as broad as we had hoped it would be, have to be of a binding character on the delegates here. We are here for no political controversies. We are of many political faiths here to discuss openly and frankly the situation of the Negro workers as it actually is in the world today and to discuss and to study the affects of capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression upon the Negro masses — and I think we can all

agree despite what others may say that the deplorable conditions of the Negroes grow out of the capitalist system of exploitation. We are here to discuss the role of the Negro workers in the international labour movement. It is under these conditions, comrades, that I bring greetings to the representatives of the Negro workers — as well as to the fraternal representatives of the other races here — from the Provisional International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers that has convened this First International Conference of Negro Workers. In order to get down to these problems I would say that we must discuss the present world situation and the past which is also heavy upon the memory of the Negro toilers. What in general outline are the questions that we must take up? (1) Briefly the economic and political situation through which the capitalist world has been passing during recent years. (2) The position and conditions of the Negro workers and the Negro race under capitalism — Negro oppression and the freedom of the Negro race. In discussing these questions we will naturally come to the significance and importance of this conference of workers. I assure comrades that the capitalists are looking with very great concern upon our efforts and the Negro workers expect much.

I.

In-so-far as we can deal with dates I will start with the period beginning around 1928. At that time great rivalries between the leading imperialist powers (and in the first place between the USA and Great Britain) were very acute and strained. Why? First, there was the question of redividing the world between themselves in order to make greater profits, especially to redivide the colonial and foreign markets, where they might sell their goods and send their money for investment and inhuman exploitation. As there can be no "gentlemanly" agreements about such things these rivalries led the USA and Britain, as well as the other imperialist nations into a race of war preparations, military alliance, etc. Imperialist war is how they try to settle such matters. And as I have said the USA is pushing Great Britain hard for financial supremacy, German bourgeoisie want back their lost colonies, France and Japan, too, want more world markets and colonial lands.

Secondly, in order to make financial and economic preparations for redividing the world and profits, it was necessary for these imperialist nations to create powerful and great centralized financial combines, of which we hear so much, and to create international trusts, etc. But in order to carry this through and because of the keen competition for profit for themselves, it was necessary, first, for them to begin to do it at the expense of the workers in the capitalist countries, by speeding them up, by introducing new machinery, both of which made it possible to increase the production of goods. But this threw thousands of workers out of jobs and meanwhile there began the slashing of wages right and left. This super abundance of goods had to find a market, because the workers could not buy them, so therefore the bitter struggle for foreign markets and colonial lands.

On top of this naturally there began a more intense struggle of the workers against capitalist exploitation.

Thirdly, I could name you a whole series of evidences of how the capitalists began to reduce the standards of the workers in every country, reduce wages, increase the hours of work, to throw thousands of work-

ers on the streets, and how with the aid of their police, soldiers and capitalist courts they beat back the workers; and last but not the least of significance, how the reformist trade union officials and organizations helped the bosses against the workers — the American Federation of Labor, the Amsterdam International and so on. But I will not take your time to point out one by one these cases. I merely want to point out the leading facts.

It was natural that the workers would become rebellious against these conditions in order to protect themselves and their standards, would turn away from the reformist trade unions in great numbers and begin aggressive battles against the capitalists.

Fourthly. Now let us take a look at the other side of the world — the colonial world, here is where capitalism is doing its best to perpetuate slavery to relieve its burdens. In order to help their attacks against the workers at home and to make super profits the capitalists send their capital to colonial countries. And when you, especially you from the colonial lands of Africa and the West Indies who know the condition of slavery under which the toilers there on every hand are working and living, their already low standards of living, the racial abuse and so on, you can readily understand how the capitalists manipulate things in order to get this cheap labour to compete with the workers at home and to make for them super profits. They took their up-to-date machinery and their new standards of production and this combined with the already cheap standard of labour they produce goods at a tremendous low rate — take China, take India, take Indonesia, take Korea and Latin America, take the forcible industrialization of the African masses who thru poll and hut taxes and other forms of taxation are forced off their lands to become industrial slaves for the imperialists, and take the United States where the capitalists have an internal army of millions of Negro toilers who are no less exploited and on whose labour billions in profits are piled up.

Now take the role of the reformist organizations (AFL, Amsterdam, the General Council, the Independent Labour Party and the British Labour Party of England) who as they do in the imperialist countries, the same they do in the colonies — help the imperialists in the exploitation of the colonial workers. This comrades is a brief outline of the situation.

I started out by saying that this was the situation at the beginning of 1928. Now in March of 1928, the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU), took place at Moscow. I was a delegate at this Congress from the Trade Union Educational League of the USA (Now Trade Union Unity League) representative of the Negro workers, for the first time a delegate at such a Congress, and for three weeks heard and participated in discussing the problems which I have already related, and saw the tasks outlined for the workers' struggles. I could not help being tremendously impressed with how the problems of the workers were handled, especially how directly they were in interest of the workers, workers from every land and every race. The question of the Negro workers was taken up in some detail. But before I take up this question I want to tell you briefly how the Congress worked. This may be of some help to us here in our deliberations. I have already touched on some of these questions. Now I want to touch on how the discussion centered around what to fight for and how to fight for it.

a) In the first place it was pointed that the workers in order to counteract the capitalist rationalization and offensive and fight the capitalist system they must fight for a shorter working day — the 7 hour day and against the taking away of the 8 hour day where it has been gained; for higher wages; against overtime; for a minimum two week holiday with full pay and a month's holiday for workers in heavy and dangerous work; special demands for young workers and women workers, etc., b) that the most stubborn struggle must be made against the reformist trade union officials of whatever stripe (and we shall see that this will apply to the Negro reformist fakers equally as much); that in the course of the struggles which are ahead new strike methods must be applied — such as day to day preparation and organization of the working masses for struggle, during strikes everything must be done against the will of the reformists; the participation of the widest mass of workers in the drawing up of strike demands; the forming of broad strike committees to lead strikes; and the extending of the economic fight, for wages and working conditions, etc., into a fight against the repressive measures and the state apparatus of the bosses — a political struggle against the whole capitalist system. c) The tremendous difference in the situation of the workers in the Workers' and Peasants' State, the Soviet Union, was pointed out and contrasted with the deplorable situation of the workers in the capitalist countries as a result of the capitalist system, and the inhuman exploitation and treatment of the oppressed colonial peoples under imperialism — how in the USSR rationalization means the reduction of the hours of work of the workers, increase in wages, better working conditions, the reduction of unemployment to nothing, the raising of the cultural level of the workers and the broad freedom and self determination of the oppressed (under the czar) nationalities and minorities and finally the fact that the Workers' state is ruling over one-sixth of the earth, and that its very existence divides the world into two camps — on the one hand the capitalist world and on the other hand the Workers' State, the ardent friend and ally of the workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world. That is why there is such great hatred by the capitalists for the USSR and why war is being prepared against it, d) then came the question of international solidarity and the strengthening of the world international trade union movement. Unlike Amsterdam International and its Congresses — the world for the RILU did not consist alone of America and Europe and of only the upper strata of the working class in these countries — the world for the RILU extended throughout the whole geographical area of the earth into the colonial lands, and not only of the upper strata of workers, but to the lowest strata, the unorganized who are betrayed by the reformists and who they refuse to organize even of white workers in Europe and America. The RILU pointed out how the capitalists use the colonial workers against the workers in the capitalist countries, how they used the unorganized against the organized and therefore how the reformists betray the workers by their attitude to the colonial workers and to the unorganized workers, how the reformists were weakening the struggle of the workers against the capitalists. The RILU had already established contact with the colonial workers through the Pan-Pacific Secretariat and the Latin America Secretariat and had made direct contact with the Negro workers of South Africa. The RILU did not look down upon Negro and coloured workers as dispensable people as the Amsterdam

International does. This was how the RILU was creating the real International and establishing International solidarity.

And now comrades this brings me directly to the Negro question as taken up at the 4th Congress of the RILU. While discussing the activities of sections in the USA, France, Britain and South Africa and their tasks amongst the Negro workers, special attention was paid to the Negro workers. It was found however that there had been many weaknesses in these sections in their work amongst Negroes. It was necessary therefore to give consideration to the setting up of a special trade union committee of Negro workers. But long before the 4th Congress the Negro question had received serious attention in the Executive Bureau of the RILU. The Congress decided that the Executive Bureau should call a conference of Negro workers to work out plans to enliven work amongst Negroes. In July of 1928 it convened a Conference of delegates from countries with a Negro population who had come to the 6th World Congress of the Communist International. After careful consideration it was decided to create an International Trade Union Committee of Negro workers at the RILU and charged it with the task of drawing Negro workers into the existing trade unions, of further creating new unions and of unifying the wide masses of Negro workers on the basis of the class struggle. This was started. We did much work, published bulletins and issued other materials, we stimulated work amongst Negro workers in the various countries. But of course sufficient was not done. During July of 1929 I was a delegate representing the Committee at the 2nd World Congress of the League Against Imperialism held at Frankfurt, Germany, and while there took the opportunity to call a few meetings in the name of our committee of all the Negro delegates who had come for the Congress of the League Against Imperialism (from USA, West Indies and Africa). Aside from the special questions taken up at the Congress of the League, in our meetings held in the corridors of the meeting hall, we discussed the problems and the question of trade union organization amongst the Negro workers. We decided that an International Conference of Negro workers for this purpose should be called. A Provisional Committee was elected for this purpose. This Conference today is the results of our work. I will not go into the details of how we carried on our work, of the difficulties encountered, these are already well known to many of you here and other facts will come out later. I want to go comrades to the second part of my report and that is the question of the situation of the Negro workers under capitalism.

II.

Now comrades we Negroes can not forget the result of the affects of the past upon us — the fact that for over 300 years over 100,000,000 Negroes were torn from the shores of Africa to be brought into the slave markets of the new world, America and the West Indies by the capitalists and their agents and that on the basis of Negro slavery and slave labour they built up their capitalist power and wealth — and we must ask, during these 300 years or during these last 100 years or during this day and time, what has it brought us? Not only during this period of slave traffic did it bring untold misery, this is a question we are familiar with, but it left us everywhere in ignorance and degradation, and despite the boast of a small upper strata of Negroes in the USA and other places,

the facts are that the great masses of Negroes the world over were brought up in ignorance, were left in ignorance and degradation by deliberate persecutions and limitations designed to perpetuate and keep them pawns and slaves to capitalist exploitation. The greatest misery and most inhuman forms of exploitation exist.

Today our disguised slavery is forced labour in all parts of Africa, peonage and forced labour in the USA and the West Indies; chaingangism, compound life, enforced by pass laws, curfew regulations, discriminations and racial restrictions of every kind, super imposed and made more "disguised" by religion and other dope through missionaries, preachers, YMCA men and other dope peddlers.

Not satisfied with this they have drowned hundreds of thousands of natives in blood with their colonial troops and police wherever there has been the least resistance to this system. In the USA during the last 35 years over 3,000 Negroes have been alone lynched by burning and other means. Comrades, these are the facts. Are there more? Yes, Remember the bloody reign of king Leopold of Belgium in the Belgian Congo, the French imperialists in Central Africa and the Congo, the destruction of the Zulus in South Africa by the combined British and Boers; the shooting down of natives in Haiti by the hundreds by the USA marines, the transportation by the Portuguese, of natives from East Africa as forced labourers many of whom died on the way.

During the Imperialist World War France, England, Germany, USA used hundreds of thousands of Negro troops in their imperialist armies, and thousands were slaughtered on the altar of imperialism. Despite the hypocritical promises of "Equality, Fraternity and Liberty", "make the world safe for small minorities", "God Save the Kings' Land" and so on, since that war we see, our exploitation and oppression goes on in a more intensified manner and form under every imperialist power.

But during the war we learnt some things. Many of us first of all learnt the class nature of the imperialist war, that the war was fought for the imperialist powers, that they fought among other things to subjugate colonial lands, to further exploit colonial peoples. That the white workers too were murdered (by each other) for the imperialists, we saw during the course of this war that the revolutionary workers overthrew capitalism in one country — in Russia — and that a Workers' and Peasants' state was set up and rules today. We have learned comrades that in order for us to gain our freedom we must also organize our forces for a struggle against imperialism and capitalism.

The fact that the imperialists set up racial barriers between black and white workers on the basis of chauvinism in order to divide the working class interest, forces us to fight harder for a united front of workers the world over, and by increasing our class consciousness, strengthen the revolutionary forces to fight to overthrow imperialism.

We are at this moment in a position to do this and have the forces on which we can base our work. The war created a big army of Negro workers, in South Africa, in West Africa, in the West Indies, in the USA — millions of Negro proletarians. It is the Negro workers brought up in capitalist industry (just as the white workers have been brought up), who find from bitter experience the need for struggle against capitalism, that have the stability, the courage, the discipline and that are class conscious on which to effectively organize their forces.

It is on the basis of the class consciousness of the Negro workers in the industrial centers who jointly with the agricultural workers (whom they must assist in organization) that contact must be made with the villages and peasant farms and join hands with the peasant toilers and lead a combined struggle against their oppressors. It is only these forces comrades that can lead the struggle for the liberation of the whole Negro race.

The Negro middle class, intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie have shown and will further show that they are not only incapable of struggle against capitalism but that making a pretence of racial interest they actually combine their forces with the growing Negro bourgeoisie for Negro capitalist aims, Negro capitalism, and that they all will betray the interest of the Negro workers, the majority of the Negro race, to the big white bourgeoisie. We shall see later in our discussion here how the Professors and doctors like G. E. Haynes, William Pickens, Dr. DuBois and a host of others betray the interest of the Negro workers, of how, many native chiefs in Africa betray the natives into the hands of the imperialists, especially in Central Africa and West Africa; and also of Garveyism, of how Garveyism on bourgeoisie nationalism playing on the mutual racial interest of the Negro race, is not only designed to build up a black capitalist group but actually to betray the masses of Negro workers to the imperialists. Comrades I only touch on these points because they will be discussed in detail later.

Now what are the prospects, what are the evidences of the growing class consciousness of the Negro workers throughout the world and their capacity to lead the struggles of the Negro race?

Every where comrades we see capitalism the world over in the grips of a severe crisis — we see the capitalists reducing the wages of the workers, their standards of living, speeding them up in order to place the burden of the crisis on the backs of the workers, we see unemployment increasing throughout the world, we find that alone in the USA, of the 6 or more millions of unemployed workers, at least 500,000 are Negro workers who are faced with starvation, the same in South Africa, in the West Indies and so on. The imperialists are trying to place the burden of this crisis especially on the backs of the colonial people and on the backs of the natives of Africa — in all the parliaments the social democrats are helping the capitalists by voting special measures and bills for the more intense exploitation of the workers in these lands.

Now in every capitalist country the workers are fighting against this capitalist crisis by street fighting and by mass demonstrations. There is a militant struggle of workers everywhere. The Indian revolution is rising, the Chinese workers are building a Red Army and have established a Soviet of workers and peasants in a large section of China. To this, notice must be taken of the struggles of the Negro workers. Big and serious struggles of the Negro working masses have taken place against capitalist exploitation in different parts of Africa, the West Indies and the USA during the last period, of which you will report on here. But let me review briefly these (and this is the key note, we must strike here).

French Equatorial Africa. This colony is especially exploited by the French militarists owing to its wealth. The system of concessions made the native population practically the slaves of the French companies and the impossible conditions of living and of work led to the extinction of

the natives. The population decreased by almost 75% during the French rule. The construction of a railway running from Brazzaville, the capital of the colony, to the seashore was an exceptionally heavy burden on the natives. The greed of the concessionaires who undertook the construction of the railway resulted in the death of about 20,000 natives during the eight years of construction (1921—1928). A revolt setting on fire almost the whole country broke out in November 1928 in connection with the new drafts of workers for the construction of the railway. The revolt continued for more than three months and considerable military forces had to be sent out to suppress it. The result of this was that the construction was very small and that attempts were made to substitute "coolies" imported from Indo-China for the native workers.

A serious movement of the natives exists also in Madagascar; the movement in May 1929 grew into a tremendous demonstration under the leadership of the Communist Party. Many demonstrators were arrested and brought before court which treated two of the Communist leaders especially harsh. One of them — Black — was sentenced to 5½ years, and the other one to 3½ years.

The most important branch of the industry of Guadeloupe, one of the West Indian Islands, belonging to France, is the sugar industry. In connection with the fall of prices on the world sugar market the capitalists intensified the exploitation of the workers in order to shift onto their shoulders the whole burden of the crisis. The workers answered with a big strike in February 1930. The strikers and the police fought pitched battles. Several workers were killed and many wounded. The revolutionary movement gained new force after the death of these workers. The French administration was obliged to call for police from the neighbouring Island of Martinique in order to suppress the revolt.

Serious disturbances took place in Nigeria in December 1929, women workers playing a very important part in them. During the suppression of the disturbances by the soldiery 44 women were among the total number killed. The disturbances were a protest against the introduction of a head tax among the women. This new tax burden is a further step to confiscate the lands of the natives. Though the administration very quickly settled the affairs and even compelled the population to pay a very high contribution in compensation for (pretended) losses suffered by the Europeans, the situation is still dangerous and the tribal chiefs are obliged to ask for defense against their own tribesmen who understand quite well that their headmen had sold themselves to the enemy and were agents of imperialism.

The principal wealth of Gambia situated on the Western Coast of Africa are peanuts and oil palms. As oil produced from both these plants is very important for the margarine and soap industries it is quite easily to be understood why the colony is entirely in the hands of an international margarine concern, which is the undisputed boss of the whole territory. The workers of this colony are organized in the trade unions and when the manager of the company demanded their leaving it, a general strike was declared. The strikers, in spite of the terror practiced by very strong military detachments that had been concentrated in Bathurst, the capital of the colony and centre of the strike, did not surrender and the administration was obliged to recognise the workers' right for organization.

A very strong anti-imperialist movement exists in Haiti, the for-

mally independent Negro republic which is practically a colony of the USA, owing to the acute agrarian crisis and directed against the American puppet — President Borno, a revolt broke out in the country 1929. The United States sent large detachments of marine forces, airplanes, and cruisers to aid in suppressing the revolt. Though they succeeded, President Hoover thought it necessary to make some concessions. A special commission was created to investigate the causes of the revolt and at the same time the resignation of the President was promised. It is quite obvious that these concessions will not satisfy the workers of Haiti who will have to take up arms again and again until they at last throw down the yoke of imperialism.

In South Africa serious struggles of the workers have been conducted. In the United States the Negro workers are fast joining the Trade Union Unity League (the revolutionary Trade Union center for all the workers of the USA).

In all these places the Negro trade union reformist fakers have shown their true colours of betrayal. In South Africa Kadalie has betrayed the native workers by joining them up with the Amsterdam International — the chauvinist organization and tool of international capitalism. In the United States A. P. Randolph betrayed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters into the jim-crow American Federation of Labor.

Comrades inclusion, capitalism is in a severe crisis. It cannot get out of it. The next steps are to organize the battles of the workers, we must here give consideration to all these questions. We must raise the signal of Revolt. We must point out how to organize to fight against class exploitation and race oppression, we must make it clear and declare that our struggles are a part of the international struggle against capitalism, we must organize our forces to this end, drawing from the experiences and lessons of our class brothers in China and India, in the capitalist countries and from the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union. We must give special attention to the question of the new imperialist war especially being designed against the USSR and the use that the capitalists intend to make of Negro soldiers in this war. Our conference must give active leadership and support to the struggles of the Negro workers throughout the world and to do this we must indicate practical organizational steps and tasks. Comrades if we do this we will have gone a long way towards justifying our efforts and towards winning the Negro workers for the international class struggle against capitalism. Our battle cry must be: **Down with Imperialism!**

PART III

REPORTS AND SPEECHES OF DELEGATES

T. S. Morton — Gold Coast Carpenters' Association Accra, West Africa

Mr. Chairman and comrades, the Gold Coast Carpenters' Association sends its greetings to this International Conference of Negro Workers.

In the year 1928, matters affecting the status of Gold Coast Carpenters became so distressing that the men came together for the purpose of organizing a carpenters' union in the Gold Coast Colony.

On the 8th of January 1928, a meeting was held which unanimously resolved that the carpenters should form themselves into an organization to be known as the Gold Coast Carpenters' Association.

Communications were made with Carpenters of various Towns of the Gold Coast Colony and all approved of, and gave their entire support to the scheme.

The status of the Gold Coast Carpenter has been one of a subordinate, under a superior. The Governmental designation of the Gold Coast worker is: "African Technical Subordinate". The "technical subordinate" in the eye of the Government includes and consist of carpenters, masons, blacksmiths and painters engaged by both the Government, commercial organizations and private individuals.

The working hours as arranged by the Government, range from 6 a. m. to 4 p. m. with a break of about one hour for breakfast — thus consisting of long and continuous work for about 9 hours a day.

In order to be punctual at work the worker has to leave his house about 5 a. m. and if it happens that the working place is located far away from Accra, he has to rise up earlier — sometimes being away from his house for a duration of nearly 10 or 12 a day hours.

The discharge of our work by working under the bare faced sun and rain, is so great that we decay prematurely and lose absolutely all physical energy and in many cases, we have had to live on the hospitality of our friends. This is the basic factor which led to the formation of the Gold Coast Carpenters' Association.

The long working hours fixed for us by the Government have been the source whereby the health of many workers has been broken with, the result of premature death. Most of our experienced workers have, in consequence, died.

For 9 or 12 hours' work per day, coupled with all the hardships and self-denials involved, we are paid meagre wages ranging from 2 shillings and 6 pence to 6 shillings per day. Headmen receive the 6 shillings rate.

Apprentices are paid from 1 shilling and 6 pences a day for the first year, 2 shillings a day for the second year and 3 shillings a day for the third year.

We view with great dissatisfaction all the worries and weariness involved in our work, and the fact that the Government has regulated our wages to a standard such as this. Our dissatisfaction is intensified when we further consider that we are only entitled to pay exclusive of Sundays and Holidays and the fact that in the event of our being disabled or incapacitated or dead accidentally, no consideration whatsoever is given to us. As Government is always the moving spirit in matters of this nature, such wages have been universally adopted by all.

In order to overcome so grave a danger as I have above described to you, the Gold Coast Carpenters' Association asks on behalf of all the workers for the assistance of this Conference.

Most of us have had continuous employment in the Government service for periods extending over 20 years. This attitude of the Government towards us is raising the militancy of the rising generation.

In order to defeat the probability for an utter destruction of our work and to instil in the hearts of the rising generation a spirit of fight, the Gold Coast Carpenters' Association ask of this Conference such support as will arouse the workers and convince our youths of the advisability to espouse the cause of labour.

The high cost of living for ourselves and families cannot be met from our scanty wages. There is absolutely no margin left for us to meet an

immergent need. When sickness attacks us or any member of our families, or death occurs amongst us, the medical and funeral expenses have always become a burden; and we are preforce driven to seek loans from money lenders who collect from our scanty wages for many months and years. These are matters which we entreat this Conference to consider.

The town rates on houses have been immeasurably increased. We have always suffered great hardship in meeting the payment of these rates. Our houses are frequently at the mercy of the auctioneer's hammer.

The workers of the Gold Coast of West Africa ask that this Conference interests itself in the conditions of the workers of our country and do all it can to help us fight to improve our conditions, especially with respect to the increase of wages and decrease the working hours, for old age pensions, and wages during holidays and sundays.

**Comrade Akrong, Gold Coast Drivers' Association, Accra,
Gold Coast, West Africa**

Comrades,

The Gold Coast Drivers' Association was organized in December 1915 as a result of the repressive measures of the Government against the drivers of the Gold Coast. At that time there were about 8000 drivers most of whom were employed by the Government at a wage which made it impossible for them to provide themselves with the necessities of life. The founders of the organization immediately began an agitation among these workers for the purpose of organizing them. At the present time the organization has about a thousand members in the City of Accra, capital of the Gold Coast and 21 branches in Ashanti, Northern territory and Togoland with a total membership of about 7000. The Government have resorted to a policy of merciless persecution against the drivers in an attempt to break their spirit and to prevent any organizational measures being taken by them. They were subjected to extremely heavy fines upon the least provocation. In numerous occasions these fines amounting to more than two or three months salary, with the penalty of imprisonment if the driver was unable to pay the fine. In 1915 J. A. Akrong together with a group of other drivers decided to organize an association, in order to carry on a struggle against these tactics of the Government.

The answer of the Government was to reduce the wages of the drivers, who immediately were called out on strike by the organization. After two months of bitter struggle with the Government and the employers the drivers were forced back to work at a reduced wage. At the same time the Government imposes a yearly tax of 12 guinas upon each lorry owned by a native, and also established official parking stations where a tax of 9 pence per day was placed on each lorry. In this way the Government reduced the wages of the drivers to a mere nothing. Further 9 pence daily is charged for parking lorries.

These various oppressive measures were adopted by the Government in order to crush the militant spirit of the workers.

At the present time the general economic conditions of the country are so bad due to the tremendous decline in the price of cocoa that hundreds of drivers are unemployed because the planters are unable to transport their produce. Even those drivers who are still able to hold on to their job are so badly paid that they are unable to provide

themselves and their families with the most elementary needs. On the other hand the Government continues to increase direct taxation in order to provide funds for the revenue of the colonies which is largely used in paying tremendous salaries to Government officials. This policy of victimisation of the transport drivers is carried on chiefly through the police department. The black policemen are instructed by the white officers to arrest as many drivers as possible, in order that the magistrates may find them so that their wages — the policemen's — could be guaranteed. It frequently happens that drivers are arrested two or three times in one month. These men are charged heavy fines, and if they are not able to pay the fines they are sent to prison, and on their release their permit is taken away from them. In this way hundreds of Gold Coast drivers are without any means of livelihood.

In view of these conditions, the Gold Coast Drivers' Union is glad to have this opportunity of bringing their problems before the International Conference of Negro Workers, because in so doing they will have an opportunity of letting the working class of other countries know something of the oppressive nature of the Gold Coast Government and the foreign capitalists.

We feel certain that the delegates here will not only sympathise with the workers of the Gold Coast, but will actively assist them in their struggle against their oppressors so that the conditions of the toiling masses of Negro workers in that country will be improved.

Com. Roberts, Food and Packing Workers' Union, Chicago, USA

Comrades, Chairman, Delegates,

I bring greetings from the Food and Packing Workers' Union to this Conference, that is to carry on and to further the struggle for the emancipation of Negro workers, who are the most oppressed and exploited workers.

In the Meat and Packing industry at Chicago (the largest in the world) the Negro forms at least 50% of the total number of the 25 000 workers. Eleven years ago they were brought there by the bosses of the industry, sanctioned if not aided by the American Federation of Labor to break a strike, and they (the bosses) succeeded; so the Negro has been there in that very important industry ever since.

The American Federation of Labor has not brought or offered him any real organization. But they had on many occasions deceived them, in one industry or another, for instance on the freight and docks of many rail roads. The AF. of L. would call a strike; the Negro trying to be true and loyal to the cause of labor would walked out with the white workers, and within a few days the AF. of L. would bring the white workers back to work and leave the Negro out in the cold; Negro waiters and waitresses have been served the same way by this notorious American Union.

The above conditions together with the propaganda of the bosses among the workers for **share-holding, representatives on the Safety Committee, Company and Unions, etc.** is causing starvation and misery.

This shows what a job and big task we have to organize the 15,000 or more Negroes in the stock yards of Chicago.

Albert Green, South Africa

Comrades,

On behalf of the African Non-European Federation of Trade Unions, the Lekhota La Bafo (Poor Men's Organization) Basutoland and thousands of Negro workers who attended the meetings called for the purpose of electing delegates to this Conference and from the left wing of the African National Congress, I bring greetings.

Six other delegates were elected by various Negro organizations in South Africa, but the Hertzog Government fearing exposure of its brutalities towards the native people refused to grant them passports.

The Negro masses in South Africa have taken a keen interest in the preparatory work of this Conference. They are anxiously awaiting its outcome and deliberations and will certainly join whole heartedly in the international struggle of the Negro masses allied with the exploited and enslaved workers and peasants in all parts of the world against imperialism and slavery.

The population of South Africa consists of 6½ million Negroes and 1½ million of Europeans. From an economic point of view we may consider the population of South Africa 40 million Negroes. The main question is that of organizing the Negro workers, especially in the basic industries, mining and agriculture etc., where nearly a million Negro workers are employed. There are many difficulties in the organizational work, and all the organizations amongst Negro workers are still very weak. The I. C. U. which started in 1919 and grew into a tremendous organization with a membership of about 100,000 in 1927 has declined since then owing to its policy of reformism, and the exclusion of militants from the ranks of the union. Some time ago the Amsterdammers' sent Ballinger to reorganize the I. C. U. on "sane trade union lines". But there seems to be little scope for the reformists in South Africa, whose policy has led to the total decline of the one time powerful I. C. U. The position today is that the Independent I. C. U. led by Kadalie and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa bossed over by Kadalie, are practically non-existent and without any influence. Only the I. C. U. at Natal led by Champion has any following at all. After the expulsion of the militants of the I. C. U. 1927 the Federation of Non-European Trade Unions was started with a policy of militancy, and in the course of a short period it had about a dozen unions organized in different industries embracing an aggregate membership of about 10,000. The Federation is really the first trade union organization amongst Negro workers, as all the I. C. U.'s were more in the nature of political parties than trade unions. In South Africa the Negroes are probably more oppressed than in any other part of the world. They are treated as slaves every minute of the day, and are not allowed even one minute of freedom during day or night.

The African National Congress which came into existence just before the war saw the height of its influence in 1919 when it organized a campaign against the pass laws. The leaders, however, got frightened at the militancy of the workers in the course of the struggle and went over to the bosses. This resulted in demoralisation amongst the masses and a decline in the influence of the Congress. At its last annual conference in Bloemfontein April 1930 the reactionaries managed to capture the machine. But the followers of the congress which are found mostly in the Cape Province are definitely against the policy of the Reformists and a resolution by

Professor Thaele to exclude militants from Congress activities was defeated by 2,000 to 3,000 votes. The economic decline of the European workers is evident in every sphere of industrial life of the country, whilst from the other hand more Africans are being engaged not only on semi-skilled work but also on skilled work.

Comrade Williams, R. R. workers' Union (USA)

Comrades!

While no definite figures are available as to the number of Negro workers employed on the railroads in the United States, a conservative estimate is that there are around 150,000 to 200,000. For a number of years Negro workers have been employed on the railroads in the Southern states, but during the past ten years, particularly following the World War, with their migration from the Southern farming communities into the industries, their number has been greatly increased in the railroad industry and extended to roads further North and in the middle West.

The Negro workers are the lowest paid, have the poorest conditions, and are the most exploited of any class of railroad workers. They are everywhere discriminated against because of color, and given the worst jobs of common unskilled manual labor, and as a rule are prevented from rising above semi-skilled work. When they are made to perform more skilled work, which is frequently the case, they are paid the wages of unskilled workers. Throughout the South and on practically all roads in the North they are Jim-Crowed, compelled to use separate toilets, eating places, and otherwise socially segregated.

The Maintenance of way Department employs a larger number of Negro workers than any other branch of railroad service. Many roads in the South employ Negro workers almost exclusively as section laborers and other maintenance of way workers. The more skilled and higher paid jobs in this department are given to white workers, as well as all jobs as foremen, minor section gang bosses, etc.

In the last ten years thousands of Negro workers have entered the railroad shops, roundhouses, and shop yards, employed principally as semi-skilled tradesmen, mechanics' helpers, and performing heavy common labor. They are seldom permitted to enter the shops as apprentices for the purpose of learning a trade, and when they do acquire a certain amount of skill and perform this class of work they are not promoted to mechanics, nor do they receive mechanic's pay.

Negro workers are employed as locomotive firemen and brakemen on both freight and passenger trains, and as switchmen and switch-tenders in the yards. The Negro workers performing this class of work are confined entirely to the railroads in the South.

Large numbers of Negro workers, both men and women, are employed in the cleaning of passenger cars.

There is also a considerable number of Negro workers employed as freight and express handlers, truckers, loading and unloading freight and express.

In the railroad stations practically all over the country Negro workers are employed as porters, handling baggage and doing porter work around the stations.

On the Pullman sleeping cars and on the dining cars Negro workers are exclusively employed as porters, maids, and cooks and waiters. It is

estimated that there are about 12,000 Pullman porters and maids. As cooks and waiters there are a much smaller number.

The rates of wages paid Negro workers in the various departments are from 32 cents to 35 cents per hour.

Station Porters receive around \$ 50 per month in wages and depend upon tips from passengers.

Pullman porters receive from \$ 65 to \$ 78 per month. With tips received from passengers their average monthly wage is from \$ 100 to \$ 125 per month. The wages of dining car cooks and waiters is approximately the same.

The 8-hour day prevails in all departments, except in sleeping and dining car service who work from 250 to 300 hours per month, and sometimes are on runs for 4 and 6 days.

The sleeping car porters are compelled to work excessively long hours, depending upon the length of their runs.

The policy of the railroad companies and the leaders of the American Federation of Labor is to keep the Negro and white workers divided, ill feeling among them, and working against each other. All A. F. of L. unions on the railroads bar Negro workers, with the exception of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Waymen. While this union takes in Negro workers, a comparatively few have been actually brought in, and these, in most instances, are segregated into Jim-Crow locals. The Negro locomotive firemen have in recent years organized a union of their own which has a membership in the neighborhood of 5,000. The station porters have an organization known as the Red Caps. This is largely a social club.

The most important union of Negro railroad workers is the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. A campaign to organize the Pullman porters was begun in 1925 by A. Philip Randolph and other reformist leaders among the Negro workers. In 1928 it was claimed that a majority of the 12,000 porters and maids were organized into the Brotherhood. A strike vote was taken with the membership voting overwhelmingly in favor of a strike to compel recognition of the organization, wage increase, shorter hours, improvement of working conditions, and the abolition of the tipping system. The strike was betrayed by Randolph and President Green of the A. F. of L. calling it off at the last moment. Since then disintegration of the Brotherhood has taken place and at the present time a bare skeleton of the organization exists in a few of the larger railroad terminals.

The organization when lunched in 1925 had a more or less militant policy, but during the past few years Randolph and the other reformist Negro leaders have adopted a policy of class-collaboration in line with that of the A. F. of L. while headquarters are maintained in Chicago and New York, at the present time the organization shows very little life and practically no organization work is being carried on.

While some slight inroads have been made since the Cleveland Trade Union Unity League Convention last September into the ranks of the Negro railroad workers to draw them into the National Railroad Industrial League, the actual organization established among them is still very weak. The organization of this league is a concrete example of the possibilities of drawing the Negro workers into the railroad league when a determined effort is made to do so. Being the most exploited, the first to feel the pressure of the speedup, layoffs, and wage cuts, the Negro railroad workers are rapidly becoming radicalized, show a willingness to fight, and are looking for leadership in their struggle for better conditions.

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Comrade Richard (Sierra Leone) West Africa (R. R. Workers' Union).

Chairman, Comrades.

I represent as you might be aware, the strong and powerful West African R. R. Workers' Union of Freetown Sierra Leone. The aggregate membership before our strike in 1926 was 5,000, this number of course has fallen to 750.

A petition was got up after the strike in 1926 in Freetown and its purpose was to appeal against the high handed means taken by the Government against us.

I am instructed by my Union to speak strongly on this matter which is one of the burning questions in the minds of the workers.

The Railway Workmen's Union was organized in 1915. The object of the Union is to get the workers to fight for one common cause, for better conditions.

When the Government found out that the eyes of the workers were being opened, they succeeded in getting the men to fight against themselves and eventually brought about a split in the Union.

The men reorganized in the year 1922. In 1923 the men decided that if they could not get what they wanted they would go on strike.

A general strike was called in 1926 and lasted for two months. Workers were drawn from other British colonies to break the strike. After many difficulties the Government succeeded in breaking the strike. Thousands of workers were thrown out of work and to-day we have over 500 men unemployed.

I am asked to bring to the promoters of this Conference the Union's best thanks and appreciation for the good work which it has started.

Speech of Helen McClain (Philadelphia, Pa. USA)

I bring greetings from the National Needle workers' Union; nearly one-half of the workers in Philadelphia are Negro workers. The Italian and the Negro are the most exploited workers, a great number are women workers. We have had a lot of trouble organising the Negro and Italian workers into the Left wing union. The white militant organisers are still struggling and they are jailed and fought by the police.

When the strikes occur the bosses use the Negro workers against the white by promising them better wage and steady positions, which the Negro workers believe and accept. Later on when the whites win the strike, the Negroes are thrown out; so now they realise the situation which they are undergoing.

After a strike the bosses moved their shops to some parts where the workers know nothing of organization, down in the South where the Negro workers are more exploited than in the North. The Textile workers in South Carolina were jailed and sentenced for 117 years for organizing the white and black together.

I think the Negro Congress should draw up a plan to help organize these workers. I think we would have real militant and Revolutionary unions to fight the capitalist and against discrimination. I also call special attention to the position of women workers everywhere.

Comrade Small, Gambia (West Africa)

Comrades.

It is my pleasure to bring greetings from the Gambia Labour Union. I shall endeavour to outline our labour conditions so as to give you a general idea of the struggles of our comrades in West Africa.

I should preface my remarks by emphasising the basis on which the unions have accepted the kind invitation of the Provisional Committee of this Conference.

The Gambia workers regard the struggle of their Negro comrades everywhere as their own; they are one in fact with the struggle of the oppressed millions of toiling workers throughout the world.

The general labour position in Gambia, which I will now endeavour to state as briefly as possible, is a chapter of the old story of **imperialism**. Throughout, it will be seen that the stage of imperialism has reached completion; that the State machine is being continually turned from "benevolent" and "philanthropic" uses to serve exclusive capitalist interests; that the Negro worker and peasant are the hopeless underdogs of the situation — the victims of capitalist and imperialist exploitation.

It is this fact that called the Gambia Labour Union into being a year ago. With the exception of administrative clerical workers, all workers and peasants are now represented by the Union. Of these an aggregate membership of 1,000 workers and 2,500 peasants has been registered. Of course, they are all Negroes. As yet there is no European settlement. Europeans are employed in the administrative and mercantile departments as supervisors. They have no permanent interest in the land. Their periodical tours to the Coast are prompted by motives of self-betterment, and, what is still worse, of racial aggrandisement. Therefore all the same the race-issue in its broadest possible sense, is no less real in the relations of the white bosses to their black subordinates; this imperialist regime is naturally opposed to equal rights and opportunity, and is conducive to race discriminations and disabilities of a colour-bar.

Within few months of its inception the Gambia Labour Unions was called upon to face its first industrial struggle; for the first time in the Colony's history, hundreds of operatives went on a general strike both for the right to organize in trade unions as well as for an increase of wages and better conditions of employment. I will emphasize only its salient features. Leading commercial firms in Gambia attempted to stifle the newly-formed organization at its very inception. They assailed the elementary right of the workers to organize in trade unions, giving their employees three days' notice to quit the Union or be dismissed. Strike notices issued by the Union were treated with sheer contempt.

Indeed, every day brings fresh indications that before, during and after the strike the merchants have enjoyed official support in their attempt to suppress the trade union rights of the workers. An official warning issued during the strike against alleged intimidation of workers had the practical effect of preventing picketing, and culminated in an armed Police raid on the 14th of November last, in which civilian passengers were wounded in the streets of Bathurst. So far, standard minimum rates of wages have now been fixed jointly by the Union and the Bathurst Chamber of Commerce, but in spite of the agreement reached in settlement of the strike, workers are being victimized by lock-outs, dismissals without notice etc. It is even proposed to import cheap labour from abroad, Jamaica and other places.

And it is hoped this Conference will have some effect in preventing the victimisation of Negro workers by their own comrades.

A striking instance of the victimisation of trade union workers may be seen at the public Works Department in Bathurst. This you will find combined with a system of piece-work and contract, which constantly throws the men out of work, and is a typical example of State exploitation of cheap labour in the guise of public economy. To carry out this anti-trade union system of exploiting cheap labour non-trade union foremen are employed, while there has been a lock-out of hundreds of trade union workers at the P.W.D., since last November. This lock-out had been threatened by the Government during the strike, when serious objections to the system were raised by the Union. Though the general works of the Department have been stopped for so long the estimated expenditure for the year is allowed to run as if there had been no close down, so that in the end the talk of public economy is a mere lip-service.

Employment for the worker and peasant in Gambia is seasonal. That is to say it is limited to the period of the trade season, which is now regulated to last from December of one year to April of the next. This recent regulation, as will be seen in the case of the peasants, is a striking episode of imperialism. There are no manufacturing industries. The classes of workers are those whose services are required to carry on the trade in groundnuts, of which an average of 70,000 tons are exported annually from the Gambia. Comparatively few of these are regularly employed. The large majority are employed more or less for two to three months of the year. How can this majority subsist for the remaining nine months of the year? It becomes perfectly clear that these workers are faced by the most serious question of a living wage.

The workers and peasants in Gambia are in the most pitiable plight. There are no big farmers in the Colony, nor is there individual ownership of cultivable land; all such land is cultivated by a primitive custom of joint ownership. The peasant is employed during the lean months of wet season. During this part, there is a dearth of foodstuffs, and the conditions of life are the most miserable. The area on which food crops — rice, maize, etc., could be grown is severely restricted, and improved methods of cultivation are beyond the peasants' means. To obtain money for his other requirements, therefore, they have to supplement the raising of a limited supply of foodstuffs by growing groundnuts so greedily hunted by the European capitalist.

The Government realises the extreme poverty of the peasant. But instead of relief advances are made to the peasants in the shape of a yearly supply of imported rice and seed-nuts. After harvest when the peasants try to hold out for better prices round goes the Government collector to demand the payment of the taxes and debts for rice and seed-nuts.

The poor peasants are thus forced to part with their produce at any price. They begin work each year with a debt of £ 4 to £ 5. The peasant can reckon on an income of £ 7. Deducting from this the debt he has incurred of £ 4 to £ 5, he is left barely with about £ 3, on which to subsist with his family all the year round. Can you imagine the degradation to which he is reduced by such circumstances? Can you imagine how population could increase, or how the problems of disease and infantile mortality could be solved so long as the peasants' hard toil is exploited to its utmost limit for the benefit of foreign capital?

It is important to note that in this state of affairs local merchants in Gambia have gradually diverted their attention from their primary interest — the profits realisable on the sale of capital goods, and are now concentrating upon making big profits from trade in raw material which they contrive to purchase at the lowest possible prices. In spite of the inevitable set-back this entails in goods trade, huge mergers, combines, trusts pools and participations, local and foreign are being formed to grind down the peasants and corner their produce. These pools are formed to exploit cheap labor and effect economies at the expense of the worker and peasant. Their natural consequences are large overstocks of goods and unemployment. The part the state machine is made to play in the crisis is the most remarkable. By the present regulation of the trade season you have seen how the interests of the peasants are played into the hands of the merchants.

While thousands of workers are being constantly thrown out of work there is no effort made to protect the worker or to relieve the unemployed; nor are the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Acts extended to workers in Gambia.

From the brief report you can see that Gambia is smarting from the effect of the economic and industrial condition that is sweeping the face of the world. The workers and peasants have experienced the needs for active resistance against capitalist and imperialist exploitation.

The workers of Gambia responded with great enthusiasm to the call of the International Conference of Negro Workers and Peasants. It is our hope that this Conference will go a long way to consolidate the forces of economic and industrial resistance against all forms of capitalist oppression not only among Negroes but among workers and peasants of the world.

Comrade Bile, Cameroon, representing the German Section of the Negro Defence League

Friends and comrades.

In name of the German Section of the Negro Defence League and in name of our fellow-workers in Cameroon, I extend fervent greetings to you. We note with great satisfaction the great number of our Negro comrades who have come from all corners of the world to attend the Congress. Let our discussions be conducted in a spirit of fraternity and solidarity for the benefit of our oppressed friends in Africa and all over the world.

I want, for the natives of Cameroon to inform you that imperialist exploitation is the same now, when the French and British imperialists are sucking out the life blood of the natives of Cameroon by unprecedented exploitation methods sanctioned by the League of Nations, as they were before when Cameroon was groaning under the iron heel of German imperialism; we condemn imperialist exploitation of any kind. In reporting on the conditions in Cameroon we only cite an additional example of the cruel way in which the imperialist powers oppress not only the Negro workers, but also the native workers in India, China, in the West Indies.

In Cameroon our lands were "lawfully" occupied. "Scientists" have set up the theory that we were ignorant of any private property, and we are consequently refused even the right to our own land. The British Government has declared all areas coming under British administration to belong to the Crown; all the lands situated in French Cameroon were declared to belong to the State by the

French Imperialists. The Negroes are, in the best of times, given only the use of their own lands which privilege may be immediately taken away from them, as was done in more than one case, whenever the European owners of the concessions wanted to use the land belonging to the natives for their own ends. A similar case that occurred under the regime of the present French administration proves that there is not any difference in the ways in which the imperialists treat the natives. The natives of Duala sent a delegate to Paris to file a protest with the French Government against the expropriation. We were sure that the delegate would fail in his mission if he stayed in Paris for even ten years.

As capitalist profiteering is the sole aim of the European imperialists the natives of Cameroon have been compelled to stop the production of victuals and to work only in the interests of the European capitalists.

The result of the policy enforced by the French and British imperialists is that the natives of Cameroon are underfed; whenever the prices fall on cocoa and other commercial produce which they are compelled to plant they are brought to the brink of starvation.

For the purpose of recruiting workers for the plantations, for work in the African forests or for the construction of railways and roads, the usual methods of colonial exploitation come into force: the head and hut tax are fixed at so high a level that the natives are compelled to look for work in the capitalist enterprises so as to be able to pay the taxes imposed on them. Wherever this method of recruitment proves to be ineffective, compulsory labour is introduced thus converting the natives into slaves; as a last resource the capitalist resort to the importation of foreign labour on a contract basis which renders them much more helpless in the face of ruthless exploitation. The crews, that are imported from Tabo (Liberia), and are hired on a five-year contract are compelled to slave for their bosses in Duala: they have to work from 6 a. m. till 8 p. m., sometimes even longer, for wages amounting not to more than a handful of rice and a piece of salted fish. After five years of work they receive 30 Marks and a yard or two of cheap print.

Whenever a worker falls ill he is told that "if the monkey dies another monkey will take his place". The white capitalist looks upon his black workers as upon cattle that have to work until they drop.

Besides these workers the coolies must be particularly mentioned. This kind of work is not classed as compulsory work by the Labour Office in Geneva though it is one of the most terrible kinds of labour enforced by capitalism. The natives are compelled to carry extremely heavy loads from the stores to the ships, and even to transport them on their bare backs from the interior to the coast; even women and children are made to do this kind of work. Whole villages are deserted when a capitalist merchant closes a good bargain in the interior of Cameroon and wants to have the goods brought to the coast.

The workers are terrorised to an unheard of extent. Whenever they endeavour to organize they are simply hanged as rebels. Whenever they complain against their bosses or against the foremen they are mercilessly whipped. The officials of the concession companies are, according to law, considered to be civil servants and, as such are entitled to mete out punishment; even if they kill a native they are not called to account as they acted in the interests of humanity and in defence of European culture. Among the 1,800,000 inhabitants of Cameroon only about 7,000 children

attend school. Neither the contracted workers nor the Negroes are given any housing accommodations in the plantations in the European sense of the word where they might take a rest after their inhuman labour! The workers from Liberia are forbidden to bring their families with them; whenever exceptions were granted, the married are compelled to live in the same room with the single. It is no wonder that diseases like typhus, swellings, etc. take a heavy toll among the workers.

The missionaries, the preachers of Christian love and peace, not only fully approve of this system but are, frequently partners in the business.

The time has come for us, in Cameroon, to make away with slavery and exploitation. Negro comrades of the world! You all attending here, who have in spite of the terror of the ruling classes, in spite of the oppression of the exploiters, called into life powerful unions and organizations; help the Negro workers in Cameroon in their struggle for emancipation, help us to win the rights and the independence that belongs to Man and to all races!

Comrade Hawkins, — National Miners' Union (USA).

Comrades,

the National Miners' Union asked me to bring greetings to the International Negro Workers' Conference. They ask me to bring reports back to them in the USA, that we may rally the workers around the banner of the revolutionary proletariat.

Comrades, the National Miners' Union is making a struggle in the coal fields to day for bettering the conditions of the coal miners.

We not only struggle against the mine operators, but against the labor fakirs such as Wm. Green, president of the A. F. of L. and John, L. Lewis A. F. of L. miners, and other tools of the bosses.

These fakirs playing into the hands of the bosses are busy dividing the workers, setting up Jim-crow organizations in all parts of the industry.

We are able to organize workers all over the USA by exposing their role and the part they play in betraying the workers.

Comrades, we must point out at the same time the conditions in the minefields, where the bosses are grinding the blood from the workers by speed up, long hours with small pay and miserable conditions.

Miners are working for \$ 2.00 and \$ 3.00 a day, the lowest wages since 1927 when the labor fakirs sold out to the bosses.

Not only do we face low wages and speed up, but we are discriminated against at every point. Unemployment has become very critical and is approaching the workers in all industry. Thousands of workers are daily returning back to their homes to face starvation, but we are able to organize unemployed councils in many towns bringing the miners into the struggle. One of our main slogan is: **w o r k o r w a g e s.**

The Negroes miners are very active in strikes, taking leading parts in all strikes; and are fighting for the right to live; many of them being jailed as they fight hand in hand with the white workers. Bigger struggles of the miners are near at hand, when the miners will come out openly in a fight for better conditions.

I believe this International Negro Workers' Conference will in many way bring about new ways and means for broadening the attack on capitalism and imperialism.

Comrade Walter Lewis, Agricultural workers (USA, South).

Chairman and Comrades,

I am a delegate from Birmingham, Alabama USA. We have made great success joining the Negro and white workers in the South. The Negro workers put up a broad campaign against unemployment on March 6. We held open air meetings. We were arrested and convicted. The bosses' plan is to put the Negro workers on chain gangs. In Chattanooga, Tennessee we paraded through the main streets. Negro and white workers have begun to realise that they can not live under their present conditions. They work from 12 to 14 hours a day, and they don't make half enough to support families. The bosses frame our organizers. The comrades fought the capitalist police. In Atlanta, Georgia, 2 Negro and 4 white workers are facing the electric chair, for organizing white and black workers. The bosses are ruling the country by Lynch law. Negroes are not allowed to mingle with the whites. The parks are closed to "Negro and dogs". From the cradle, whites are taught to hate Negroes and if an organizer is caught he is shot or put in jail. If workers lay off 1 or 2 days they are fired. Workers only receive from \$ 1.25 to \$ 2.00 a day for 10 and 12 hours a day. We are fighting discrimination and lynching in the south. We have to put up a fight also for the farmers and peasants.

Comrade Murphy, Metal Workers Union, Pennsylvania (USA).

Comrades,

I bring greetings to the International Conference of Negro Workers from the Metal Workers' Industrial League of the USA.

Because of the terror of the bosses against the militant Unions, we are State of Pennsylvania. We are however putting forward a broad struggle having a difficult time trying to organize the Negro metal workers in the American Federation of Labor, the Church and other agencies that are preventing the organization of the workers, especially the church which constantly tells the Negro workers that they should not agitate and organize, that they do not need any share in the steel corporations. At the same time the bosses carry on terror against the workers joining the Metal Workers' League, threatening them with the loss of their jobs. However we are trying to spread our organization into the State of Ohio, Michigan and throughout the country.

The Negro workers are ready for struggle. At our Youngstown Ohio Convention last June we worked out concrete programmes of action for organizing Negro workers on the basis of struggle against low wages, the speed up system and the long hours of work into this industrial Union of both black and white workers.

In the whole of the steel and metal industry the Negro workers undergo the hardest attacks of the bosses and are the first to be fired from jobs.

We hope that this International Conference of Negro workers will be able to work out a broad programme of organization not only for Negro workers in America but for the Negro toilers in the other part of the world Africa, the West Indies, etc.

M. De Leon, Railroad Workers Union, Jamaica, West Indies.

Comrades,

You might have heard recently a lot being said about the prosperity of the West Indian Islands and of Jamaica in particular. The prosperity that is being held up does not in any way relate to the Negro worker of the West Indies; it is mainly confined to the capitalists who hold in their hands the commercial wealth of the islands accumulated from the meagre and insufficient wage paid to the labouring masses.

The population of Jamaica as shown by the last census is 930,000, of which 700,000 are Negroes — 98% of them the working class.

The country is purely agricultural and the principal form of labour is performed on the Sugar Estates and Banana Plantations. Subsidiary to this are such tasks as the breaking of stones by women for the repair of streets and roads and the excavation of men. The skilled labourers are: Carpenters, bricklayers, masons, blacksmiths, fitters, plumbers, boiler makers, and painters; then there is also the domestic servants whose services are largely in demand all over the island.

None of these labourers has legislative, or any other protection. They are compelled to work for any remuneration offered by the employer, and for any number of hours exacted. You will find the same class of labour in the same district receiving different scales of wages and varied hours of work. There is no health insurance, no unemployment provision; neither is there any liability on the part of the employer for any accident that may occur to a labourer during the performance of his duty.

To bring forcibly to this conference the hardships that each and every class of labour suffers in Jamaica and throughout the West Indies, it is necessary to give you an idea of the remuneration received and total expenditures for the bare necessities of life. The praedial labourer receives a maximum of 1 shilling and 6 pence per day for men, and women 9 pence on Sugar Estates, Banana and other plantations. The Banana plantations are mostly owned and control by the United Fruit Co., an American Corporation. The ordinary artisan receives an average of 4 shillings per day. Domestic servants are paid from 5 to 6 shillings per week without meals. The fitters, plumbers, boilermakers and machinists generally are employed principally by the Jamaica Government Railway, as there is only one other place of the kind that employs such labour. Their wages are 30 shillings per week.

The cost of living in Jamaica, providing only for the necessities of life is:

Labourers pay for a room	3.0 per week
food (not including butter, egg, milk, cheese and fresh meat)	9.0 " "
laundry	1.6 " "
tobacco	1.6 " "
clothing	2.6 " "

making a total: 17.0.0 per week

The Artisans pay for rent	12.6	per week
food	1.4.0	" "
tobacco	4.6	" "
clothing	7.0	" "
laundry	6.0	" "
recreation	4.6	" "
medicines	3.0	" "
car Fares	3.0	" "

making an average of 3.4.0 per week

You will observe in the case of the labourer that his minimum expenditure does not include several items as are shown in that of the artisan! To be met out of a wage of 9 shillings per week.

The artisan is still no better off, no provision can he make for the education of his children, as his earnings are far below the cost of living. In the labourer's case, he must work until he is unfit or incapacitated, then give way to another. His only resort is to depend on charity or die in some public institution. It might be asked how these underpaid workers are able to meet their obligations? The answer to that is that the court of civil suits is at present unable to cope with the work, and in a good many instances the debtor is compelled to serve a term in the county jail.

The railway department, a government institution, does not provide for accident or permanent incapacity of its workers caused during the discharge of their duties, nor does it provide for his dependents. He is sometimes granted by the legislature what is known as a compassionate allowance, an amount that is never adequate to permanently relieve the situation. There is a new Pension Bill providing for the relief of workers, but in spite of the hardy task and the responsibility attached to these workers, particularly those connected with the rolling stock it is based on a far lower scale than that of other civil servants. The ordinary day labourer who may not be employed as a whole time hand runs the risk of losing his limbs or life by the handling of dynamite or such explosive, to leave his wife destitute and his children to become waifs and strays not from choice, but as a result of the loss of their bread winner.

My submissions to this conference in respect to the Negro Worker of Jamaica is as follows: —

- (1) A minimum wage.
- (2) A working day of not less than eight hours.
- (3) Insurance of all and every kind of labour against sickness accidents and death caused during the performance of labour.
- (4) That each employee, domestic and otherwise be given annually rest leave with his or her full pay.
- (5) In the case of over and above a certain number of persons be employed on estate farm, plantation, workshop, factory, printing office or any other such place a reasonable and sufficient amount of medical supplies necessary for first aid should be always available for use in the case of accident. On estates a medical officer should be provided for each estate or plantation to attend those employed.
- (6) In case where living accommodation is prepared for the labourers it must be of such that conduces to the social hygienic and moral conditions as so demanded by modern progress and civilisation.

Comrade Budisch, fraternal delegate, International Red Aid, Berlin.

Comrades,

In name of the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid, I extend hearty greetings to you and wish your Conference the best success.

It is the first International Negro Workers' Conference and entrusted with the task of coordinating the struggle of the Negro workers with that of the revolutionary workers of all other nationalities, and to enlighten the masses of Negro workers and women workers on the necessity of following the example set by the Russian workers and peasants; only by doing so will the exploited masses, irrespective of colour or race, be enabled to wage a successful struggle against capitalism and imperialism in the various countries, resulting in the final victory of the proletariat of the world.

The struggle for the emancipation of the international proletariat calls not only for the establishment of strong revolutionary and militant organizations, but also for an institution that would give the necessary support to the fighters and the victims of the proletarian battles, and would continually hold up the idea of proletarian solidarity and mutual aid. The capitalist and imperialist robbers inflict heavy wounds to many of the fighting workers and peasants lined up in battle all along the international front of class struggles; the number of the dead, wounded and imprisoned rises continually, particularly in the colonies and semi-colonies. The neglect of giving aid to these victims would be a serious danger sapping the militancy and fighting spirit of the proletariat.

Every fighter on the battle front must be fully aware of the solidarity and love of his class; he must realise that his family is not left to shift for itself, but that the whole working class supports it, when he falls into the hands of the class enemy, is wounded or killed. The IRA is such an organization.

The civil war in China illustrates the tremendous number of victims that may be lost in revolutionary struggles. The Chinese workers and peasants have lost over 350,000 comrades under the bloody reign of Chiang-shek. Comrades these figures remind one of the World War. The IRA gives support not only to the victims of the proletarian struggle for emancipation. Other extremely important task are intrusted to it; the struggle against class peace and against the bourgeoisie legislation, against white terror, against colonial "justice", against lynching, against the persecution of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' organizations, and, finally, the struggle against war and fascism.

PART IV

RESOLUTIONS

I.

1. The Negro Toilers goaded to desperation are answering the imperialist offensive by increasing mass struggles. The recent mass uprisings in South Africa, Nigeria, French Equatorial Africa, Congo, Madagascar, Haiti and the Cameroons, the tremendous growth of the strike movement among

the Negro workers as manifested particularly in South Africa, Gambia, the West Indies, Dahomey and in the increasing participation of the Negro workers together with white workers in strikes in the United States — all show that the Negro masses have awakened and are adding new and powerful forces to the struggle against capitalist imperialism.

Even before the crisis the conditions of Negro toiling masses were unbearable. Everywhere they are confined to the most unskilled labour, for the same amount of work they receive less than the whites; numerous methods are employed for wringing super profits from their exploitation.

2. The social-fascist parties and trade union organizations whether affiliated with the Amsterdam and II. Internationals, or the American Federation of Labor in the United States, have, apart from their strike-breaking activities in the Metropolitan countries, actively supported the plundering and murdering of colonial and subjected peoples by the imperialists.

3. However the most dangerous obstacle to the development of the struggle of the Negro workers is Negro reformism.

The most subtle and therefore the most dangerous type of this reformism is Garveyism. Garveyism utilises the feelings of mutual sympathy which exist among Negro toilers in all parts of the world by virtue of their exploitation and oppression, not in the interests of the Negro toilers, but for the purpose of promoting reactionary utopias of the Negro bourgeoisie. The slogan "Back to Africa" means the substitution of the revolutionary struggles of the Negroes all over the world against capitalism for the utopian illusion of a "peaceful return to Africa under imperialism". The logical development of this doctrine has led its leading exponent, Marcus Garvey into alliance with the most reactionary forces against the Negro toiling masses; e. g. Garvey's manoeuvres with the Ku Klux Klan in the USA, his negotiations with reactionary Southern senators, his manoeuvres with British and French Imperialism, etc.

Reformism among the Negroes has its social basis in certain sections of the Negro middle class and intelligentsia. Such as Du Bois, Pickens, De Preist as well as many bourgeois nationalist leaders in the Negro colonies. The representatives of this tendency whether already in open alliance with the imperialists or whether still claiming to struggle for the liberation of the Negro masses are betraying the Negro masses and acting as a break to their class-conscious development. In the struggle between the imperialist ruling classes, and the oppressed Negro workers and peasants there can be no middle road, but only the road of class struggle.

National reformism also has its agents in the Negro workers' organizations such as, for example, the leadership of such organizations as the ICU in South Africa, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the US, etc. The leaders of these organizations while pretending to fight for the interests of the Negro workers are betraying them at every step and are constantly concluding reactionary agreements with the capitalists behind the backs of the Negro workers.

A relentless struggle against the above tendencies must be made for establishing working class leadership in the struggles of the Negro masses.

4. In the past the economic struggles of the Negro workers have in the majority of cases been spontaneous and isolated from the international labour movement, and in the main under the leadership of reformists. All of this has contributed to many defeats.

5. However, the present struggles of the Negro workers are taking place under more favourable objective conditions for the development of the working class leadership. The absorption of Negroes in capitalist industry Africa and America, which has proceeded with remarkable rapidity in the last during ten or more years, and the formation of a considerable Negro proletariat in the most important colonies and in the USA, creates the conditions for the development of a working class leadership and all future Negro liberation struggles.

6. The great mass of Negroes are however still tied to the land, where they live under semi-slave conditions, mercilessly exploited by the imperialists, landlords, and their henchmen — usurers, native chieftains, etc. Politically and socially the Negro toiling peasants are as much oppressed and discriminated against as the Negro workers and in some cases even more.

Without a mobilisation of this mass of Negro toilers, the Negro industrial proletariat can not hope to successfully carry on its struggle against imperialism.

The representatives of the workers in the villages are the agricultural workers. It is through these that the industrial workers mobilises the toiling peasants as its class allies and leads them onward to the final liberation struggle.

Only the revolutionary trade unions which unite the workers of all races on a revolutionary class basis, together with the masses of toiling peasants, organized respectively in tenant leagues, peasant committees, etc., and following the lead of the working class. Only such combination of our forces in the struggle against capitalism can assure the victory to the workers.

Therefore the Conference calls the attention of the Negro workers to the following immediate tasks:

1. The better organization and preparation of the economic struggles of the Negro workers.

2. The development of an efficient working class leadership, and the establishment of independent organs of struggle.

3. The preparation of a program of Demands which should include the following:

- a) Equal pay for equal work regardless of race, nationality or sex.

- b) For the immediate establishment of an eight-hour working day, and further struggle for a seven-hour day and for a six-hour day in unhealthy occupations.

- c) For legal existence of Trade Unions, for the right to organize and strike. Gambia, Nigeria, West Indies, etc.

- d) Against racial barriers in Trade Unions.

- e) For the establishment and maintenance of the closest unity between the workers of all nations in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

- f) Refusals to pay taxes and rents.

- g) Formation of peasant organizations to carry on the struggle.

- h) Active struggle against all open or concealed forms of slavery and forced labour, peonage, contract labour, etc.

- i) Struggle against the reserve system and the forced expropriation of lands from the natives.

- j) Against all forms of national oppression.
- k) For the return of the land to the toiling peasants.
- l) For the immediate evacuation of the imperialists from all colonies.
- m) For the complete national independence and right of self-determination.

4. The class education of the Negro workers must be carried through by assimilation of the lessons of their struggles and the utilisation of the lessons of the struggles of the working class as a whole.

The spontaneous struggles of the Negro workers for equal wages, against forced labour, segregation and colour bars, etc., must be developed into a conscious struggle against imperialism and the whole system of capitalist and colonial exploitation.

5. Special attention must be devoted to the leadership of the struggle of the Negro agricultural labourers and through them connections must be established with the broad masses of the Negro agrarian population in their struggles and to fight against all forms of persecution of the Negro workers, and at the same time to conduct a broad agitational campaign for the purpose of warning them against the attempts of the capitalist to isolate the Negro workers. The Conference declares that the tasks of the whole revolutionary trade union movement is to unite with the Negro workers.

The development of the economic struggles of the Negro workers is an important stage in the struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialism and a vital part of the general struggle of the whole working class.

II.

The struggle against forced labour

1. Whether through the operation of special laws or methods of direct and indirect administrative pressure (expropriation of native lands, hut, poll, and other special taxes), the coloured peoples generally, and the Negro peoples more particularly, are compelled to perform compulsory labour for the imperialist masters and their native agents.

2. Forced labour takes many different forms, such as, direct slavery, compulsory unpaid labour on public works of national or local importance, indentured labour, taxation paid in labour, corvée, and peonage, but whatever outward form this or that particular kind of compulsory labour might take, — in actual practice all such labour is slavery in disguise.

3. The imperialists, of course, try to give this masked slavery the outward appearance of "free" wage labour, whilst the imperialist powers are introducing bans on forced labour into their legal codes, they are at the same time tightening the pressure of taxation (taxes on women in Nigeria and the many new taxes in the Union of South Africa being cases in point) and are adopting other means whereby their respective administrations can press down the coloured people.

4. For the purpose of fostering the illusion that an effort is being made to put a stop to forced labour, the imperialists are making use of those two international bodies, the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. The international convention relative to the abolition of slavery and the regulating of the employment of forced labour drawn up by these organizations can never effect the abolition of compulsory labour. While Geneva is continuing its policy of deceit, S. Africa, France, Belgium are

devising new ways and means of subjugating the natives, of tightening their slave chains (anti-native laws in S. Africa, new taxes in Nigeria, etc.).

5. This First International Conference of Negro workers warns the oppressed masses of the toiling Negroes against any hope of liberation through legislative measures whatsoever, whether adopted by individual governments or by international federations of imperialists. This Conference solemnly warns the toiling Negroes of the world and the working masses of the colonies generally against the League of Nations and the ILO, and declared, further, that these international bodies are tools of the imperialists and have nothing in common with the work of defending the interests of the toiling and down-trodden masses of the colonial and semi-colonial lands.

6. This Conference condemns the treacherous colonial policies and activities of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, which are covered up by high-sounding phrases. These organizations act as the open agents of the imperialists inasmuch as they are furthering the enslavement and oppression of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. The colonial policy of the MacDonald government, the representatives of the Second International is the best proof of the real policy of these imperialist agents.

7. The Conference declared forced labour can only be abolished by a merciless and uncompromising struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

Only by fighting actively for national self-determination, only by a joint struggle of all exploited and down-trodden masses of the world against the capitalist system will the Negro toilers effect their emancipation from the existing oppression and exploitation.

8. The Conference calls upon all Negro toilers to close their ranks and to fight for the return of all exploited lands to native tribes and communities, to occupy by direct action these lands and refuse to pay rent to any person or body whatsoever;

to refuse to pay any taxes whatsoever save those necessary to provide for the needs of the particular Negro Community concerned;

to refuse to recognise the authority of the tribal chiefs who are agents of the imperialists; and to fight against native landlords and capitalists;

to drive out of their villages all recruiting agents and to repudiate the terms of all indentures and other contracts;

to refuse to knuckle down to the compound system and to demand the final abolition of all compounds;

to fight against the "pass" system and against the segregation policy;

to organize self-defence corps for protection against the agents of the imperialists.

Our call is for a united fighting front of all the exploited without regard to colour, race, nationality or religion.

Workers and oppressed of all lands and nations, unite!

Down with all forms of peonage and concealed and open slavery!

Equal pay for equal work.

Against Masters and Servant laws.

For the freedom of political and industrial organizations.

III.

Against the labour fakers — the British "labour" government

The International Conference of Negro Workers realises that the action of the MacDonald Labour Government in refusing to permit the Con-

ference to be held in England is instigated by fear of the rising revolt of the workers and peasants of the colonial and semi-colonial countries upon whom the imperialist Briton has grown fat.

The magnificent struggles of the Indian and Chinese workers and peasants against their continued exploitation by the foreign imperialists and their lackeys, the native bourgeoisie together with the struggles of Negro workers and peasants of Nigeria, South Africa, Gambia, Kenya, etc., has frightened the British Imperialists into the suppression of the elementary rights of meetings and discussion. This action of the MacDonald Government, which has up to now sought to hide its responsibility for the butchery, exploitation and slavery of the native workers in the colonial countries behind the pretext of the rights of the Dominion Government of South Africa etc. — exposes its true anti-working class role and shows its true imperialist colour.

It further reveals the complete unity of MacDonald and the British Labour Party with Hertzog in imposing the anti-native laws and with the imperialists' plunderers and murderers in Africa, West Indies and other colonies and as well shows the falsity of the leaders. Garvey, Seme Thaele, etc. are seeking to delude the Negro masses by statements that Hertzog, Pirows, Smutts, etc., are acting without the consent and in opposition to the MacDonald Government, when they suppress and murder the native toilers.

All the murders, plunderings and bitter exploitation of the Negro toiling masses have been carried out with the direct participation of the Labour Government, are carried out with the knowledge of MacDonald, Thomas, Lord Passfield, all of whom are held responsible for all the crimes committed by the agents of British Imperialism in the colonies.

The MacDonald Government is part and parcel of the Second Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals. The "Socialists" and reformists of all countries fully support capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression in the colonies. The Socialists of France, Belgium, Holland, the USA and other countries are all imperialist allies helping to maintain and strengthen the existing conditions in the colonies. The Amsterdam and Second Internationals on a world scale collaborate with the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, these imperialist agencies, and are doing everything in their power to find new ways and means for suppressing the revolutionary movement of the colonial peoples for the purpose of disarming the toiling masses in the colonies, and for preserving the slave conditions of labour of the colored peoples.

Negro workers and peasants, only by means of active revolutionary struggle will it be possible for the working class to obtain its liberation. Only by this means will the colonial peoples be able to bring about their liberation, and build up a Socialist Society, where national discrimination and race hatred will vanish for ever, when peace, liberty and equality for all workers will reign supreme.

Down with the Robbers and Bloody Imperialists!

Down with the Social-Fascists and reformists from the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, lackeys of capitalism and traitors of the working class!

Down with the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, agencies of the International Robbers!

Long live the United Front of the workers of all countries, nationalities and races!

Long live the relentless struggle against all exploiters and oppressors!

IV.

The Negro Workers and the War Danger

1. The first International Conference of Negro workers is meeting at a time when the imperialists are feverishly preparing for a new imperialist war and especially for a new intervention against the Soviet Union. Even now the imperialists are conducting actual war against the toiling masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The attempts to stifle the liberation struggles of the Chinese and Indian toilers, the bloody suppression of the heroic uprisings of the Indo-Chinese and of the Negro toilers on the African Continent and in Haiti, clearly reveals the plundering nature of imperialism which maintains itself by wars and bloody oppression.

2. The Conference reminds the Negro toilers of their experience in the blood-bath of 1914—1918. They were forced, together with the other toilers, to fight for the interests of the master class. Millions of workers and peasants were killed and maimed. The net result of the war to the masses of Negro toilers was the further increase of their misery and exploitation. Remember the days when in Africa the peasants were driven from their villages into the armies as soldiers and as carriers, at the point of machine guns. Remember the way hundreds and thousands of Negroes were conscripted into the armies of the United States, England, France and Germany and driven brutally by the imperialist officers. They were massacred as shock troops, enslaved as labour corps and as porters. These memories we must bear in mind and draw the proper lessons from them.

But not alone the past offers us experiences and lessons, the present teaches us similar lessons. In Africa Negro peasants and workers are conscripted into the Armies of France, England and Belgium. These armies composed of Negro toilers are utilised to suppress the revolts of other oppressed peoples (Sinagalese in Morocco, Algiers and Madagascar and the preparation of the French imperialists to utilise Sinagalese troops for the suppression of the revolt of Indo-Chinese). Black troops are also used against the working class movements in the metropolitan countries (St. Etienne strike, France).

3. This conference declares to all Negro toilers throughout the world that the present deep crisis of the world capitalist system signalises the renewed attack against the already miserable existence of the Negro masses. The crisis is expressed by the fact that the capitalists are producing more goods than the increasingly impoverished masses can afford to buy. Millions of workers are permanently unemployed while the toiling peasants are reduced to a starvation level. The effects of the general decline of the capitalist system which were sharpened by the now developing economic crisis, are felt by the Negro masses with particular intensity.

The crisis of capitalism finds its reflection in the acute rivalry among the imperialist nations and in their struggle for redivision of the world especially the colonies which must inevitably culminate in an imperialist war.

The capitalists propose to wage this war at the expense of the toiling masses. They propose to use millions of toilers as cannon fodder. The

toilers have nothing to gain from the imperialist war, the only war it recognises and supports is the revolutionary war of the proletariat and the toiling peasantry against imperialist and capitalist oppression.

4. While the capitalist world is on the decline, the Soviet Union is rising and successfully building a Socialist Commonwealth. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union after the victorious overthrow of the revolutionary workers throughout the world. The Soviet Union is the only country that knows no oppression, knows no exploitation, has no imperialist aims and supports the revolutionary liberation movement of the workers and toiling peasants of all countries.

To the capitalist world engulfed in crisis, the Soviet Union which is successfully constructing its socialist industry on the basis of the great Five-Year Plan and raising the cultural level and the economic conditions of the more backward nationalities to higher levels, has become the primary object of attack. Hence the bitter hatred of the imperialists for the Soviet Union and their campaign of lies and slander, — the religious campaign, frontier provocations such as the effort to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway etc. It is the task of all Negro toilers to struggle against the danger of an imperialist attack against the Soviet Union and in case of such an attack struggle on the side of the Soviet Union against the imperialists.

5. It is also vital to every Negro toiler to note the increasing armament race going on now between the imperialist nations. In order to mislead the workers the imperialists are organizing "disarmament conference". It must be distinctly understood that the result of each such conference was the increase in the war budgets of the imperialists (London Disarmament Conference).

Nevertheless, the agents of the imperialists, including, the reformists trade union and socialist party leaders with the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the Second International at their head, utilise these conferences and the imperialist organ, the League of Nations, for the purpose of pacifist manoeuvres while at the same time actively preparing the ground for the imperialist war. For example, in England, MacDonald's "Labour" Government, side by side with its strike-breaking efforts against the textile and wool workers in Great Britain, ruthlessly murders colonial workers in India, Africa and other places and leads the attack against the Soviet Union. The A. F. of L. the notorious strike-breaker supports the US Senate's programme of naval construction and the murderous policy of US imperialism in Central America, Haiti, etc.

6. At the same time the Conference warns the Negro toilers against the traitors in their own midst who are representing the interests of the Negro Bourgeoisie. Notwithstanding the differences between the Negro bourgeoisie and the imperialists, they are united on the questions of imperialist war, the attack upon the Soviet Union and in their attitude towards the proletariat and objectively serve the interests of the imperialists. The leadership of such organizations as the West African and South African National Congress, the National Association of Coloured People and the Urban League in the USA actually aided in mobilising the Negro toilers behind the imperialist war machines in the past war. At the 2nd world congress of the League Against Imperialism Prof. William Pickens openly declared against the withdrawal of imperialist troops from its Negro colonies.

7. In connection with the war preparation, the practice of dividing the black and white workers, of putting one against the other on grounds of race — a policy which is the mainstay of imperialist oppression — is now being revived. The Hertzog Native Bills in South Africa, the wave of lynching and mob violence now taking place in the Southern United States against the Negroes, and organized by the imperialists, is at the same time directed towards widening the artificial barrier between the black and white workers and as such is an integral part of the offensive of the imperialist directed not only against the Negroes but against the working class as a whole.

The Negro and the white workers must stand together against the exploiters and defy the attempts of the capitalists to create race hatreds. The imperialists are well aware that the United front of the workers of all nationalities and toiling peasants will annihilate their plans and presents a threat to their rule. Efforts are, therefore, concentrated to break down the organizations and suppress the struggles of the revolutionary workers as a part of the measures for preparing war. The fierce struggle waged by them against the rising colonial toilers in China, India, Africa, Haiti, etc., are coupled with the suppression of the Communist Party and the revolutionary Trade Unions throughout the world. Besides these measures the capitalists everywhere enact and propose to enact laws hitting particularly against the Negro masses.

8. The War Danger is imminent! Therefore this Conference of Negro workers calls upon the Negro workers to:

- a) organize into revolutionary labor and trade union organizations, to build committees of struggle, to unite the forces of the Negro toiling peasants and workers and to connect these up with the international revolutionary movement;
- b) on the basis of these class organizations, the Negro toilers will be able to organize a real revolutionary struggle against the war danger connecting it up with their economic struggles. To organize your forces for an active struggle against conscription and against a new imperialist war!

Defend the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic, the Fatherland of the Toilers throughout the World!

Workers and peasants of all nationalities and races form a United Front against capitalism and imperialism.

V.

Against lynching.

The workers of America are meeting the attacks of the ruling class with determined resistance. Today it is not only for them a case of defense, in many instances they are taking the offensive against the exploiters. The Negro workers are heroically struggling side by side with the white workers on the trade-union and political fronts.

The solidarity of the American workers has thrown the master class into a white rage. The black and white workers of America have found that the misery and suffering they endure do not flow from differences of race. They have learned that the struggle is basically a struggle of Class Against Class.

As this interracial solidarity is manifested, the ruling class as never before resorts to lynching and white terrorism in an effort to defeat the

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unity of the working class, and to cow and demoralise the Negro workers. A new wave of lynch terror is sweeping over America. The violence of the mob spurred on by the provocative propaganda of the Negro-baiting capitalist press and the armed forces of American imperialism knows no limits. Court houses and jails as in Texas and Oklahoma, are burned to the ground in an effort to get militant Negro workers who are imprisoned on any and every pretext. Almost every day the press recounts new acts of mob terror and violence against Negro workers. To perpetuate racial strife among the white and black workers the reptile capitalist press invariably gives out the report that the Negro prisoner is guilty of an act of sex violence against a white woman and that the racial purity and integrity of the white race must be maintained. But the myth of white supremacy and of inherent white racial superiority is going down before cold facts. The standard of living of the white worker is being beaten down to the level imposed by the ruling class upon the Negro workers. These tendencies are developing a spirit of interracial and international solidarity.

The First International Conference of Negro Workers proclaims to the exploited and oppressed Negro masses of the world that the tasks of the desperately oppressed black toilers of America is to meet the merciless programme of white and lynch terror laws of American Imperialism with the armed force of black and white workers defense organizations, to rally the broad masses of Negroes into the ranks of the revolutionary trade unions to unite on a basis of class solidarity under the slogan of "Class Against Class".

The International Conference calls the attention of the Negro toiling masses to the tactics utilised by the Capitalist governments, employers and their reformist toils to split the ranks of the working class along the lines of race, religion and colour. Lynching will not be confined to Negro workers. As the struggle against exploitation and oppression sharpens militant white workers will be made the victims of lynch law.

The International Conference calls the attention of the toiling black masses to the fact that the provocation acts of the capitalist press and armed forces are the medium by which the riotous mobs are recruited during periods of crisis. The relation bring the economic crisis and the raise of social animosity.

Down with lynching!

Down with capitalist terror!

Long live the defense organizations of black and white workers!

Long live the unity of the Negro and white workers!

VI.

Negro workers for international solidarity.

The united forces of the Reaction, comprised of the imperialists, rich landowners, bankers, manufacturers, and militarists do not stop before even mass executions, murders and inhuman tortures, for the purpose of suppressing the Chinese Revolution, to stop the movement of the Chinese workers and peasants, struggling for their independence, for land, for radical improvement of their labor conditions, for a decent human existence. The united dark forces succeeded in physically destroying the vanguard of the proletariat and the peasantry, and temporarily to hold up the movement. However, this did not last long. Having gathered fresh forces, and reorganized their ranks, the Chinese workers and peasants waged a new

struggle. They have created their new class political and trade union organizations, in the fire of the struggle they have hammered out their worker-peasant Red Army, are firmly establishing themselves over a significant part of the territory of South China, setting up their worker-peasant Soviet Power, doing away with the oppression of the landowners and capitalists wherever they come, building up a new life, governed by the workers themselves.

In India, where already more than three hundred years that the ruling classes of great Britain have been existing on the blood and sweat of the natives, a gigantic revolutionary movement is developing today. More than two years since the workers of Bombay and other industrial centres, in a number of stubborn fights conducted an heroic struggle against foreign and national capital for better living conditions. This struggle has served to awaken and bring into action the town poor and peasant masses. The British "Labour" Government, the same Government who refused to permit our Conference to convene in London, does not stop before the most cruel repressions in order to suppress the movement of the toiling masses. The Indian bourgeoisie is already about to compromise with British Imperialism. The toilers of India, however, will continue the struggle, for their own living interests are concerned, for only complete independence an agrarian revolution and the establishment of the worker-peasant government are able to radically improve their living conditions.

With great force is the revolutionary movement in Indo-China developing, this being the basic colony of French Imperialism. For long and as it seemed, patiently, have the peasants and workers of Indo-China suffered from the horrible exploitation of the French capitalists, bankers and officialdom. The last two years show that the workers of Indo-China under the leadership of their revolutionary vanguard have begun a relentless struggle against their oppressors. In spite of the savage treatment in spite of executions, torture, mass arrests, etc., the movement is extending. The banners with revolutionary slogans, with the emblem of the hammer and sickle, are flourishing to-day not only in China and India, but also in Indo-China.

The whole colonial world has been brought into action. Not only Asia, but also the countries of Latin-America, and finally Africa, are being drawn more and more into this great struggle.

The International Conference of Negro Workers, for the first time in history, uniting the representatives of one of the most exploited and oppressed divisions of the Labor Army, cannot pass by this heroic struggle. With great animation and enthusiasm, of which only class brothers, allies and comrades are capable, are we following up these great events developing in China, India, Indo-China and throughout the whole colonial world. We hereby send our warm fraternal greetings to the fighters. We solemnly promise to intensify our own struggle against the oppressors, to widen the front of the struggle of the oppressed classes and peoples against world Imperialism, threatening the world with fresh wars, with new deaths and suffering, with ever sharper and more acute methods of exploitation.

Down with the bloody, plundering imperialism!

Long live the struggle of the oppressed classes and nations!

All hail the heroic workers and peasants of China, India, Indo-China!

Up the United Front of the Oppressed Colonial Peoples and the World Proletariat!

ELECTIONS

The following new Executive Committee was elected:

United States: James W. Ford, Trade Union Unity league. I. Hawkins, National Miners' Union. Helen McClain, National Needle Trades' Union. George Padmore, RILU, Negro Bureau.

Africa: Garan Kouyatté, League for Defence of Negro Race, Darkar. Frank Macaulay, Nigerian Workers' Party, Nigeria. Albert Nzulu, Federation of Non-European Trade Unions, Johannesburg. E. F. Small, Gambian Labour Unions, Gambia.

West Indies: E. Reid, Trades and Labour Unions, Jamaica. M. Kotani, Johannesburg, alternate.

Report of credential Committee

There were 17 delegates and three fraternal delegates. They represented 20,000 workers, 7 countries, 11 different trade unions, 2 national Trade Union Centers, one national political party, 2 non trade union organizations; one delegate from Africa at present residing outside Africa, one white delegate representing a Negro organization. There were 9 elected delegates who did not arrived because of hinderances being placed in there way.

The following are the names and composition of the organizations:

1. **Jamaican trades and labour unions**, 250 members, founded April 1930.
2. **American Negro Labor Congress**, 1000.
3. **Railway workers' union of Sierra Leone, West Africa**. Membership 750.
4. **Gambia Labor Union, West Africa**. Membership 1,000 workers, 2,500 peasants.
5. **Nigerian National Democratic Party**. Organized 1929. Membership 5,000.
6. **Gold Coast Driver and Mechanics Union, West Africa**. Membership 2,000; organized 1915.
7. **Gold Coast Carpenters' Union, West Africa**. Membership 500; organized 1928.
8. **National Miners Union (USA)**, mixed union. 200 Negro members.
9. **Federation of Non-European Trade Unions, South Africa**. Founded 1927. Membership 5,000.
10. **The Railroad Workers' Industrial League (USA)**. Mixed union. 200 Negro members.
11. **Food Workers' Industrial Union (USA)**. Mixed union. Membership 5,000; 500 Negro members.
12. **Needle Trades Industrial Union (USA)**. Mixed union. Membership 5,000; 200 Negro members.
13. **Agricultural Worker' Committee (South, USA)**, Membership 500; 350 Negro members.
14. **Metal Workers' Industrial League (USA)**. Mixed union. Membership 2,000; 500 Negro members.
15. **The League for the Defence of the Negro Race (Berlin Section)**. Berlin, Germany.
16. **The League for the Defence of the Negro Race, Paris, France**.
17. **Negro Trade Union Committee of the RILU**.
18. **Trade Union Unity League, USA (National Committee)**.

Fraternal organization: The League Against Imperialism (Berlin). International Seamens' Club (Hamburg). International Red Aid (Berlin).

VERANTWORTLICH: JAMES FORD, HAMBURG

DRUCK:
GRAPHISCHE INDUSTRIE HAMBURG GMBH.

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